

AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE
AND
WRITINGS
OF
Mr. JOHN LOCKE
AUTHOR of the
ESSAY
CONCERNING
Humane Understanding.

The Second Edition, Enlarged.

L O N D O N :

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T H E

P R E F A C E

IN this Second Edition of Mr. Locke's *Life* the Reader will find some *Enlargements*, and many *Corrections* in the most *Material* Passages: It was first written in French by Mr. Le Clerc, and Published in the Sixth Tome of his *Bibliothèque Choisie* in the Year 1705; a Book that does not lye in the Way of every Person who would be willing to read the *Life* of so Great a Man; so that I persuade myself this Translation will be acceptable, even to some who understand French, as well as to many that do not. This Account is but short, too short indeed for the *Life* of One that Lived to the Age of 73 Years, who spent the best Part of his Time in Business, conversed with Persons of the Highest Rank, was engaged in Matters of the Greatest Consequence, and who bore as Considerable a Character in the World as any Private Gentleman ever did: But there is this to be said for it, that it takes Notice of nothing mean or trivial; and which is more, 'tis *Authentic*.

Mr. Le Clerc was one of Mr. Locke's intimate Friends, and tho' with many he may be condemned for some particular Opinions, yet I hope we may believe him as to Matters of Fact;

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and he gives us Part of this Account upon his own Knowledge, Part he had from the Earl of Shaftsbury, and Part from the Lady Masham. It would be well if all Histories were founded on such good Authority. For the Reader's Satisfaction I shall translate most of the Introduction, or, as I may call it, the Preface of Mr. Le Clerc to this Account.

“ Having been Honoured (says he) with a
“ Share in the Friendship of the late Mr. Locke,
“ and having received a great deal of Benefit
“ from his Conversation while he was in Hol-
“ land, and in Reading his Books, I am obliged
“ by the Laws of Friendship and Gratitude to
“ give the World some Account of the Life of
“ this Extraordinary Person, and to do what
“ lies in my Power to perpetuate his Memory:
“ I am so much the more willing to take the
“ Task upon me, because I think this is an In-
“ stance very fit to be brought to stop the
“ Mouths of those who fancy Piety to be incon-
“ sistent with good Reasoning, and the Study of
“ Philosophy; as if Religion had been calculated
“ only for the more unthinking Part of Mankind:
“ One might have observed in him the Life of
“ a Christian, and a diligent and careful Stu-
“ dy of the New-Testament, joined with a
“ Delicacy of Wit, and an unusual Accuracy
“ of Reasoning; and we may from hence learn,
“ that the Piety which has the best Foundation
“ is never seen but with the most refined Judg-
“ ment.

THE PREFACE.

“ I would it were in my Power to write a
“ full Account of Mr. Locke, and by these
“ means to set such an exact Picture of him be-
“ fore my Readers, that they need but carefully
“ to consider it in order to frame a Just Idea
“ of him. In my Opinion there is no better
“ Way, either to praise, or to find fault, when
“ there is Occasion to do it : But since I could
“ not furnish myself with such Memoirs as are
“ necessary to enable me to write a complete
“ History of his Life, I shall go as far as I can
“ in it with the Materials which are come to
“ my Hands ; and I shall take particular No-
“ tice of those Things which I have learned
“ from the Earl of Shaftsbury, who was brought
“ up under Mr. Locke, and from Madam Ma-
“ sham, Sir Francis Masham's Lady, at whose
“ House he spent the last Years of his Life.
“ This Honourable Lady, Daughter of the late
“ Famous Dr. Cudworth, (who was one of
“ the greatest Men in England,) has had an
“ Opportunity of getting a perfect Knowledge
“ of Mr. Locke while he lived at her House,
“ and she being every Way qualifed to make
“ a Judgment of him, the Light that I have
“ received from Her has been very useful to me
“ in Drawing the Picture of this Great Man.

“ I wish I had entreated this Lady to take
“ from his own Mouth some farther Memoirs
“ of his Life ; but now the Public must be con-
“ tented with those which I have obtained of his
“ Friends since his Death. As for what pass'd
“ about the Time in which he came acquainted
“ with

The P R E F A C E.

“ with the Grandfather of the Present Earl of
“ Shaftsbury, and the Respect that he had af-
“ terwards in his House, I owe the Knowledge
“ of that to the present Earl, in whom we may
“ see what Advantage it is, even to those on
“ whom Providence has bestowed the best Na-
“ tural Parts, to be brought up by the Care of
“ of one who knew the Right Method of Edu-
“ cating Youth.

I shall only add this sincere Wish, That all
those who admire the Reason, and embrace
the Notions, of the Great Mr. Locke, may
imitate his Example in his Piety to God, and
Charity to Man.



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THE
L I F E
O F
Mr. JOHN LOCKE.

MR. John Locke was the Son of Mr. John Locke of Pensford, in Somersetsbire, in the West of England: The Family had its Rise at a Place call'd Channon Court, in Dorsetsbire. He was Born at Wrington, (alias Wrinton, 7 or 8 Miles South of Bristol) and, according to the Parish Register, was Baptiz'd the 29th of August 1632. His Father was Heir to a much greater Estate than he left behind him; and was a Captain in the Parliament Army, in the Civil Wars, under King Charles the First: And it is
B very

very probable, that at that Time, by the Misfortunes of the War, he lost some Part of his Estate; for his Son us'd to speak of him as a Wise and Sober Man; so that I can't think he either lost it by his Folly, or squander'd it away by his Extravagance. Mr. *Locke* never mention'd his Parents but with a great deal of Respect and Tenderneſs: Tho' they were Young enough when they Married, yet they had but Two Children, of which he was the Eldest: The other, who was also a Son, died of a Phthiſic above 40 Years ago.

Mr. *Locke's* Father took great Care of his Education, and carried himself towards him in such a Manner as his Son hath often commended: He was severe to him while he was a Child, and kept him at a very great Distance; but as he grew up he was more free and familiar with him, and when he was come to Years of Discretion they liv'd together rather as Friends than as Two Persons, One of which might justly claim Respect from the other; insomuch that (as Mr. *Locke* has said) his Father excus'd himself to him for having beaten him once in his Childhood, rather in Anger than because he deserv'd it.

Mr. *Locke* began his Studies in *Westminster* School where he continu'd till the Year 1651, from whence he was sent to *Christ-Church* College in *Oxford*, of which he was elected Fellow. Mr. *Tyrrell*, Grandson to the Fa-
mous

mous *Archbishop Usber*, sufficiently known by his Works, remembers that Mr. *Locke* was then look'd upon as the most Ingenious Young Man in the College.

But altho' Mr. *Locke* had gain'd such a Reputation in the University, he has been often heard to say, of the first Years of his being there, that he found so little Satisfaction in the Method that was prescrib'd them for their Studies, that he wish'd his Father had never sent him to *Oxford*; when he found that what he had learnt there was of little Use to him, to enlighten and enlarge his Mind, and to make him more exact in his Reasonings, he fancied it was because his Genius was not suited to those Studies. I myself have heard him complain of the Method he took in his Studies at first, in a Discourse which I had with him one Day on that Subject; and when I told him that I had a *Cartesian* Professor for my Tutor, a Man of a clear Head, he said he was not so Happy; (tho' 'tis well known he was no *Cartesian*;) and that he lost a great deal of Time when he first applied himself to Study, because the only Philosophy then known at *Oxford* was the *Peripatetic*, perplex'd with obscure Terms, and stuff'd with useless Questions.

Being thus discourag'd by the Method of studying which was then in Vogue, he diverted himself by writing to some Gentlemen, with whom he chose to hold Correspondence for the sake of their good Humour, their pleasant and agreeable Temper, rather than on

the Account of their Learning; and he confess'd that he spent some Years in this Manner. It is not probable that Mr. Locke wrote then as well as he did afterwards, when he knew more of the World; but his Letters would without doubt have been very entertaining to all, had they been preserv'd; and since he has been engaged in Public Business, some Persons in *England*, of a very good Judgment, have thought that in Letters of this Nature, for a Fine, Delicate, Turn he was not inferior to *Voiture*; tho' it must be confess'd of his *English* it is not so pure, or so much studied, as *Voiture's French*. In his Two last Letters of *Toleration*, in his Defences of *the Reasonableness of Christianity*, and in his Answers to the Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet*, late Lord Bishop of *Worcester*, we may see some Passages that are a Proof of this. In those Places where his Matter allowed him to speak Ironically, or to use a little Raillery, he did it with so much Wit as gave Life and Beauty to his Discourse, and at the same Time kept up that Grave and Serious Character which runs throughout those Pieces, and never failed in that Respect which was due to the *Bishop of Worcester*.

Mr. Locke did not acquire this great Reputation he had at *Oxford*, (as Mr. *Tyrrell* says,) by his Performances in the Public Disputations; for he was ever averse to these, and always look'd upon them as no better than Wrangling, and that they served only for a

vain Ostentation of a Man's Parts, and not in the least for the Discovery of Truth, or Advancement of Knowledge.

The Works of *Des Cartes* were the first Books that brought Mr. *Locke* (as he himself told me) to relish the Study of Philosophy: For though he did not Assent to the Truth of all his Notions, he found that he wrote with great Clearness, which made him think that it was the Fault of the Author's, rather than his own, that he had not understood some other Philosophical Books.

And thus beginning afresh to Study, and more earnestly than he did before, he applied himself particularly to Physic, tho' this never turn'd to his own Profit, because he did not find that he had a Constitution of Body strong enough to bear those Fatigues, to which they are necessarily exposed who would have any considerable Practice: But though he never practiced Physic, he was in great Esteem with the most Eminent Physicians of his Time: We have a clear Proof of this in the Dedication of an excellent Book, *De morbis acutis*, published in the Year 1675 by the Famous Dr. *Thomas Sydenham*, where he speaks to this Purpose, " Besides, you know
" that my Method hath been approv'd by
" one who hath examin'd it thoroughly, and
" who is our common Friend, I mean Mr.
" *John Locke*, who whether we respect his
" Wit, or his piercing and exact Judgment,
" or whether we look to his Prudent and Re-
gular

“ gular Behaviour, there is no Person in our
 “ Age that excels him, and there are but few
 “ who are his Equals. This was the Opini-
 on of one of the greatest Practitioners in Phy-
 sic, and One of the Honestest Men that Lon-
 don had in the last Age: Therefore I shall re-
 peat this Character in his own Words, be-
 cause they are much more expressive in *Latin*;
Nosti præterea quem huic meæ methodo suffragan-
tem habeam, qui eam intimius per omnia perspex-
erat, utrique nostrum conjunctissimum, Dominum
Joannem Locke; quo quidem viro, siue ingenio
judicioque acri & subactò, siue etiam antiquis,
hoc est, optimis moribus, vix Superiorem quen-
quam, inter eos qui nunc sunt homines, reper-
tum iri confido, paucissimos certè pares. After
 the Preface of this Book there are some Ele-
 giac Verses of Mr. Locke's, which are indeed
 full of Wit and Fancy, but the Stile of them
 is not altogether Exact or Poetical. He had
 too little Esteem for the Poets to throw away
 much Time in reading them, or to take the Pains
 to imitate them. He signed those Verses in
 this Manner, *J. Locke, A. M. Ex Æde Christi.*
Oxon. He contented himself with the Title of
 Master of Arts, without taking the Degree of
 a Doctor of Physic; but those that did not
 know him usually called him Dr. Locke.
 This he told me when I dedicated to him one
 Part of my Philosophy, in 1692.

In 1664 he left *England*, and went to Ger-
 many as Secretary to Sir William Swan, who
 was Envoy of the King of *England* to the
 Elector

Elect^r of *Brandebourg*, and some other *German* Princes: In less than a Year he returned, resumed his Studies at the University of *Oxford*, and among other Things, he applied himself to Natural Philosophy, as is evident from the Journal which he kept of the Changes of the Air, from the 24th of *June* 1666, to the 28th of *March* 1667, for the regular Observation of which he used a *Baro-* a 103
meter, *Thermometer* and *Hygroscope*. This Journal may be seen in the General History of the Air, published by Mr. *Boyle* at *London*, 1692.

While he was at *Oxford* in 1666 he came acquainted with the Lord *Ashley*, who was afterwards Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and Lord High Chancellor of *England*; his Lordship had been for a considerable Time indisposed by a Fall, whereby his Chest was so much bruised, that it occasioned the gathering of an Imposthume, as appeared by a Swelling under his Stomach; for the Cure of which, he was advised to drink the Mineral Waters of *Astrop*, and wrote to Dr. *Thomas*, an *Oxford* Physician, to send for some to *Oxford* against his Arrival: But Dr. *Thomas* being obliged at that Time to go out of Town, left his Commission in Charge with his Friend Mr. *Locke*; and the Day after his Lordship's Arrival, the Waters not being ready by Neglect of the Person employed to fetch them, Mr. *Locke* was obliged to wait upon his Lordship to excuse himself, and was introduced by Mr. *Bennet*,
who

who came in the same Coach with my Lord: His Lordship gave him a genteel Reception, according to his usual Manner, and was very well satisfied with his Message: When he was about to take his Leave of him, my Lord, who was extremely well pleased with his Conversation, would needs make him stay Supper; and as his Lordship was taken with Mr. Locke's Discourse, so Mr. Locke was charm'd with my Lord *Ashley*, whose Wit and Civility gave him a distinguishing Character among those of his own Rank.

He was one who had a Quick and Sharp Wit, an Accurate and Solid Judgment, a Retentive Memory, Noble and Generous Sentiments; and with all this, a Gay and Pleasant Temper, which he retain'd in the midst of the greatest Troubles; he had read much, and seen more of the World. In a little Time he got a great deal of Knowledge and Experience, and became the best Statesman in *England*, at an Age when others scarce begin to understand or enquire after Public Concerns. The Employments he had when K. *Charles II.* made use of his Service took him off from his Studies: But he was of so quick an Apprehension, that by once reading a Book, tho' in Haste, he could see its Faults and Excellencies sometimes better than those who perus'd it at their Leisure; besides, he was a Man of a free and easie Carriage, an Enemy to Complements, and not in the least Ceremonious; so that one might converse with him

him without Constraint, and use all desirable Freedom. He carried himself familiarly to all Men, and yet never did any Thing unworthy, or below his Character. He could never suffer what had the least Appearance of Slavery, either in himself, or his Inferiours.

So that Mr. *Locke* did with Pleasure all his Life after reflect on the Satisfaction he receiv'd from his Conversation; and whenever he prais'd him, he did it not only with Respect, but even with Admiration; as those who knew the Penetration and Sincerity of Mr. *Locke*, will from hence form to themselves a high Idea of my Lord *Ashley*; so those who were acquainted with my Lord *Ashley* can't but think that Mr. *Locke* was a Man of an uncommon Genius, when they consider the Value he had for him.

After all this, 'tis no great Wonder that between Two such Persons as these there easily arose an inviolable Friendship. But to continue our History; his Lordship engag'd Mr. *Locke* to Dine with him the next Day, and to drink the Waters, (as he himself had partly design'd,) that he might enjoy the more of his Company. Leaving *Oxford* to go to *Sunning-Hill*, where he drank the Waters, he made Mr. *Locke* promise to accompany him thither, as he did in the Summer of the Year 1667; and when his Lordship afterwards went to *London*, he oblig'd him to promise that he would Lodge
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To The LIFE of

for the future at his House. Mr. *Locke* did so; and tho' he never practis'd Physic, his Lordship was intirely guided by his Advice in opening the Imposthume he had in his Breast, which sav'd his Life, tho' it never could be clos'd again.

After this Cure his Lordship had so great an Esteem for Mr. *Locke*, that although he had experienced his Skill in Physic, he ever after regarded it as the least of his Accomplishments. He advis'd him to turn his Thoughts another Way, and would not suffer him to practice Physic out of the House to any but his particular Friends. He would have had him rather apply himself to the Study of Ecclesiastical and Politioal Affairs, which might have some Relation to the Business of a Minister of State: And Mr. *Locke* succeeded so well in these Studies, that his Lordship began to consult him on all Occasions of that Nature. He not only took him into his Library and Closet, but brought him into the Company of the Duke of *Buckingham*, my Lord *Halifax*, and other Noblemen of the greatest Wit and Learning, who were pleas'd as much with his Conversation as my Lord *Affley*; for tho' Mr. *Locke* had a serious Air, and always spoke to these Gentlemen in a modest and respectful Manner, yet there was an agreeable Mixture of Wit in his Conversation.

The Freedom which he us'd with Persons of a Superior Rank had somewhat which I

can't

can't exprefs, that agreed very well with his Character. One Day Three or Four of thefe Lords being met together at my Lord *Affley's*, rather for their Diverfion than Bufinefs, after the ufual Complements were over the Cards were brought, when little or no Difcourfe had paffed between them, Mr. *Locke* took Notice of the Game for fome Time, and then taking out his Pocket-book, he feem'd to write fomewhat with very great Serioufnefs, one of the Lords having obferv'd it, ask'd him what it was that he was writing? My Lord, fays he, I endeavour to get as much as I can in your good Company, and having waited with Impatience the Honour of being prefent at a Meeting of the Wifeft and moft Ingenious Men of the Age, and enjoying at length this Happinefs, I thought it proper to fet down your Converfation, and I have accordingly fet down the Subftance of what has been faid within this Hour or Two. There was no need for Mr. *Locke* to read much of this Dialogue, thefe Noble Lords perceiv'd the Banter, and diverted themfelves awhile with improving the Jeft; they left their Play, and enter'd into a Converfation more agreeable to their Character, and fo fpent the reft of the Day.

In 1668 the Earl and Countefs of *Northumberland* having refolv'd to Travel into *France*, they defir'd Mr. *Locke* to make one of their Company; he readily comply'd with them, and ftaid in *France* with the Countefs

whilst the Earl went to *Rome*. This Noble Lord fell sick in the Way and died, which obliged his Lady to return sooner to *England* than they had designed at first. The Journey was without doubt very pleasant to Mr. *Locke*, for this Lady was every Way accomplished, she spared for no Expence, and where-ever she came, she had very great Honours paid her.

Mr. *Locke* at his Return into *England* lodged, as before, at my Lord *Ashley's*, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer. However, He held his Place in the College of *Christ-Church* at *Oxford*, (of keeping the Changes of the Air,) where he sometimes resided. Whilst he was at my Lord *Ashley's* his Lordship intrusted him with the remaining Part of the Education of his only Son, who was then but about Fifteen or Sixteen Years old, which Charge he carefully performed. This Young Lord being of a very weakly Constitution, his Father thought to Marry him betimes, lest the Family should be extinct by his Death. He was too Young, and had too little Experience to chuse a Wife for himself; and my Lord *Ashley* not having Time to make Choice of a suitable Person for him, desired that Mr. *Locke* would undertake it. This was no easie Province, for tho' his Lordship did not insist upon a great Fortune for his Son, yet he would have him Marry a Lady of a good Family, an agreeable Temper, a fine Complexion, and
above

above all, one that had a good Education, and whose Carriage was as different as possible from the Behaviour of the Court and City Ladies. However, Mr. *Locke* took upon him this Nice Business, and very happily acquitted himself of it; for from this Marriage sprung the present Earl of *Shaftsbury*, with Six other Children, all very healthful, tho' his Father was but weak, and died some Years ago. As Mr. *Locke* had the Care of great Part of the Education of this Lord, so he was entrusted with that of his eldest Son, whom we had the Honour of seeing here in *Holland*, and whose good Sense, Judgment, Fancy, Learning, and obliging Carriage, free from all formal and affected Ceremonies, with a natural and easie Eloquence, plainly shew us that he was Educated by no less Excellent a Person than Mr. *Locke*, of which his Lordship hath testified a grateful Sense on all Occasions, and always speaks of him with Signs of a more than ordinary Esteem.

In the Year 1670, and 1671, Mr. *Locke* began his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*, at the earnest Request of Mr. *Tyrrell*, Dr. *Thomas*, and some other of his Friends, who met frequently in his Chamber to converse together, as he himself hath told me. But his Business and Travels hindered his finishing it at that Time. I think it was about this Time that he was admitted Member of the *Royal Society of London*.

In the Year 1672 my Lord *Ashley* was created *Earl of Shaftsbury*, and Lord High Chancellor of England, and gave Mr. *Locke* the Office of Secretary of the Presentation of *Benefices*, which he enjoyed till the End of the Year 1673, when his Lordship resign'd that Post.

Mr. *Locke*, whom this Great Man made Privy to his most Secret Affairs, was joined with him in his Disgrace, and afterwards gave his Assistance to some Pieces, which his Lordship Published to stir up the *English* Nation to have a watchful Eye over the Conduct of the *Roman Catholics*, and to oppose the Designs of that Party.

On this Occasion I cannot pass over in Silence a Remarkable Affair, which was transacted in the Parliament of *England* in 1672. It is well known that at that Time King *Charles II.* in Conjunction with *France*, made War on the *United Provinces*: But the Sums that were remitted from *France* not being sufficient to carry on the War, he thought it necessary to try what the Parliament would raise him. For this Purpose there was a Draught prepared in the King's Council of the Speech which the Lord Chancellor was to make to the Parliament, to perswade them to approve of the War, which that Prince had declared against the *Dutch*. But this appearing too weak to the King and Council, as not pressing the Matter home enough, they thought fit to alter it,
and

and in spight of the Lord Chancellor's Advice, to insert these Words of *Cato, Delenda est Carthago*, intimating that it was the Interest of *England* utterly to Ruin *Holland*. This being resolv'd, the Lord Chancellor must pronounce the Speech as it was prepar'd; his Lordship shew'd a very great Concern at this to Mr. *Locke*, and to another of his Friends, who hath since declar'd it in Writing; However, the Lord Chancellor being look'd upon as the Mouth of the King, and not speaking in his own Name, and often contrary to his own particular Sentiments, his Lordship was oblig'd to get it by Heart; and altho' he spake very fluently, and had a great Presence of Mind, yet he was so much disorder'd, that he would have Mr. *Locke* behind him with the Speech, to prompt him if he should be at a Stand. This made a great Noise in *Holland*, and his Lordship was thought very ill of by those who were ignorant of his own Sentiments, and the Office of a Lord Chancellor. But this Noble Lord, in a little Time after, perceiving the Mark that the Court aim'd at, and the Duke of *Buckingham* having shewn him, that not only the Duke of *York*, but even the King, was a *Papist*, (though he conceal'd it, by setting up for a Wit, and by appearing on all Occasions very indifferent as to Matters of Religion,) he left the Court-Party, who in vain tried all Means to keep him in their Interest; his Lordship had so great an Aversion to Popery, Tyranny,

Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power, that tho' he was in other Things very moderate, there was no moving of him in these Respects. This is well known to all those who had the Honour of being acquainted with him, or who have had his Character from them.

However, Sir *William Temple* in his *Memoirs* speaks very much to his Disadvantage, and insinuates, that he was one of the Authors of the War against the *United Provinces* in 1672. But it must be consider'd that he had a private Pique against my Lord *Shaftsbury*, because when his Lordship was Chancellor of the *Exchequer* he was against the King's making Sir *William Temple* a Present of Plate, which he desir'd at his Return from his Embassy, according to a Custom that his Lordship thought was very prejudicial to the King's Treasury; and this is a sufficient Reason why we should give but little Credit to what he says with respect to my Lord *Shaftsbury*. But to return to Mr. *Locke*, in June 1673 he was made Secretary to the Commissioners of Trade, which Office brought him in Five Hundred Pounds *per Annum*. But this Commission expir'd in December, 1674.

In the following Summer, 1675, my Lord *Shaftsbury* thought it necessary for Mr. *Locke* to Travel, because he was very much inclin'd to the Phthysic; He went to *Montpelier*, where he staid a considerable Time. There it was that he came acquainted with the Earl of *Pembroke*,

Pembroke, who was then call'd *Mr. Herbert*, (the Name of his Family,) because his eldest Brother was at that Time living. He ever kept up his Friendship with the Earl, and afterwards Dedicated to him his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*; and I have heard him speak of this Lord, as one for whom he had the highest Respect. From *Montpelier* he went to *Paris*, where he became acquainted with *Monsieur Justel*, at whose House the Learned generally met, and there he saw *Monsieur Guenelon*, the Famous Physician of *Amsterdam*, who read the Anatomy Lecture with great Applause. *Mr. Locke* took down his Name, and the Place of his Abode, at *Amsterdam*, and his Friendship was very advantagious to him some Years after, as we shall find in the Sequel. He likewise entred into a particular Friendship with *Monsieur Toignard*, who shew'd him a Copy of his *Harmonia Evangelica*, of which there were but Five or Six complete, and which he has not yet Publish'd, tho' he has been earnestly desir'd to do it. *Mr. Locke* had applied himself particularly to the Study of the *New-Testament*, and we shall see hereafter what were the Fruits of his Labours.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* being reconciled to the Court, (out of an honest Design of being as serviceable as he could to his Country,) was made President of the Council in the
Year

Year 1679, which oblig'd him to desire Mr. *Locke's* Return to *London*, which he accordingly did; but not being wholly recover'd, and finding himself afflicted with an *Asthma*, he could not tarry long There, the Sea-coal which is burnt in that City being so very offensive to him. He was oblig'd from Time to Time to pass some Weeks in the Country, that he might breath in a pure Air; and sometimes he went to *Oxford*, where he still kept his Place in *Christ-Church* College.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* (as I have said) having again taken his Place in the Council, for the Good of the *English* Nation, rather than to carry on the Designs of the Court, which aimed at the Establishment of Popery and Arbitrary Power, fresh Crimes were soon laid to his Charge, and the King sent him to the *Tower*. But he was acquitted in spite of the Intrigues of the Court, and in *December*, 1682, he retired into *Holland*. The late King *William* III. who was then *Prince of Orange*, knowing that his Lordship's only Crime was, that he opposed the Designs of the Court, he was received very kindly There, and made himself a Burgher of *Amsterdam*, lest the King should send to demand him of the States, which by a Treaty is obliged to deliver Traytors to the Crown of *England*, if they are not made Burghers of some Town in *Holland*, and

and *England* is obliged to do the same with Respect to the States.

Mr. *Locke* did not think himself any longer safe in *England*; for tho' they could not hurt him according to a due Form of Law, yet 'twas possible they might Imprison him, and let him lye there some Time, to the endangering his Health and Life; so he followed his Lordship, who died soon after in *Holland*. It is an Honour to this Province, and to the Town of *Amsterdam* in particular, for having entertained and protected so Illustrious a Refugee, without regarding those former Prejudices which it had received against him on the Account of the Speech which he delivered as Lord Chancellor to the Parliament in the Year 1672. A grateful Sense of this is retain'd in the Family, as the present Earl of *Shaftsbury*, his Grandson, hath often told me. May this Town ever remain a safe Sanctuary to the Innocent, and by its generous Behaviour draw down upon itself the Praises and Blessings of all those who are Lovers of Vertue, not only in its Prosperity, but even when it suffers the sharpest Persecutions.

Mr. *Locke* being at *Amsterdam* about the End of the Year 1683, renewed the Acquaintance; he began at *Paris* with Monsieur *Guezelon*, and got acquainted with his Father-in-Law, Monsieur *Veen*, Senior Phyfician of this City, and one of its most skilful and fortunate Practitioners. In *January*, 1684, Mon-

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sieur *Guenelon* being to Dissect a *Lioness*, which died of the excessive Cold that Winter, Mr. *Locke* came thither, and became acquainted with several other Physicians. Here he met with Monsieur *Limborch*, Professor of Divinity among the Remonstrants, with whom he contracted a Friendship, which continued during the whole Course of his Life, and which he cultivated after his Return into *England*. I had the Honour also to be acquainted with him some Time after, and have spent several Hours with Pleasure and Profit in his Company; especially after he told me his Mind in Philosophical Matters, which has been the Subject of many an Hour's Conversation. Having his Health better in *Holland* than either in *England* or at *Montpelier*, he there carried on and completed his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*, of which he shewed me several Chapters in Manuscript.

Mr. *Locke* had not been a Year out of *England* before he was accused at Court of writing several Pamphlets against the Government, which were said to come from *Holland*, but afterwards were found to be done by other Hands; for this Reason, as was reported, the King sent Orders to Dr. *Fell*, then Bishop of *Oxford*, and Dean of *Christ-Church*, to turn Mr. *Locke* out of his Fellowship in the College. The Bishop, who was a Virtuous and Learned Man, and always had a Respect and Kindness for Mr. *Locke*, received the
Message

Message with a great deal of Uneasiness, as may be seen by his Actions. He immediately sent for Mr. Tyrrell, Mr. Locke's Friend, to speak with him, and was so convinced of Mr. Locke's Innocence, that instead of executing the Order, he wrote to him the 8th of November to appear and answer for himself the 1st of January of the ensuing Year. In the mean Time he acquainted my Lord Sunderland, then Secretary of State, with what he had done, in these Words, (from which we may learn much of Mr. Locke's Character.) *Mr. Locke being a great Friend of the late Earl of Shaftsbury, and being suspected not to be well affected to the Government, I have had my Eye over him for several Years, but He has always been so much upon his Guard, that after several strict Enquiries, I can confidently assure you, there is no Person in our College, how familiar soever he has been with him, that has heard him say any Thing against the Government, or that any Ways concerns it; and tho' we have often designedly given him Occasion in Public and Private Discourse to talk of the Earl of Shaftsbury, by speaking Ill of him, his Party and Designs, yet we could never see, either by his Words or Looks, that he thought himself at all concerned in the Matter; so that we believe there is not a Man in the World so much Master of his Tongue and Passions as he is.*

This is the more to be admired, because Mr. Locke was naturally a little hasty. But

perceiving their Designs to trapan him, he thought it most prudent to remain silent, easily foreseeing that to defend his Lordship before them could do him no Service, but might bring him into Trouble.

Bishop *Fell*, in what he wrote, without doubt designed to serve Mr. *Locke*; but the King sending a Second Letter, he was forced to remove him from his Fellowship.

After the Death of King *Charles II.* (which was on the 6th of *February*, 1685,) Mr. *Penn*, whom Mr. *Locke* had known at the University, and who very generously imploy'd the Interest he had in King *James*, endeavoured to procure his Pardon, and had certainly obtained it, if Mr. *Locke* had not answered, that he had no Occasion for a Pardon, having been Guilty of no Crime.

In the Spring of the Year 1685 the Duke of *Monmouth* was in *Holland*, and several other Gentlemen and Nobles with him, disaffected to King *James's* Government, making Preparations for his unfortunate Enterprize. King *James* being informed of their Designs, sent to Mr. *Skelton*, his Envoy at the *Hague*, the 17th of *May*, to demand of the *States* Fourscore and Four Persons, and amongst them Mr. *Locke*, whom they had thus described formerly *Secretary to the Earl of Shaftsbury*, altho' he never had that Business or Title in his Lordship's House, but lived there as a Friend: His Name was the last in the List, and, as I remember, 'twas said he was

not in the List that came from *England*, but that the *English Consul*, who was then in *Holland*, ordered it to be added to the rest. However, I believe one may rest satisfied that he had no Correspondence with the Duke of *Monmouth*, of whom he had not such high Thoughts as to expect any Thing from his Undertaking; besides, he was of a peaceable Temper, and rather Timorous than Courageous.

About the End of the Year 1684 he was at *Utrecht*, and the next Spring went to *Amsterdam*, with Design to return to *Utrecht*, as he did afterwards, not imagining he should be esteemed an Accomplice of the Duke of *Monmouth*: He had formerly had a Desire to lodge with Mr. *Guenelon*, but he excus'd himself, because it was not the Custom of their City to entertain Strangers, tho' otherwise he had a great Esteem for him, and was very well pleased with his Visits. But when Mr. *Guenelon* perceived the Danger he was in, and that it was Time to do him a Kindness, he generously engaged his Father-in-Law Mr. *Veen* to entertain him in his House, and wrote to *Utrecht* to advertise him of it, as did Mr. *Limborch* on the Part of Mr. *Veen*; Mr. *Locke* upon this came to *Amsterdam*, and concealed himself at Mr. *Veen's* Two or Three Months; and in the mean Time Mr. *Limborch* convey'd the Letters that were wrote to him, and kept Mr. *Locke's Will*, which he desir'd might be sent to one of his Relations, whom
he

he named if he should Die. In the mean Time they consulted one of the Chief Magistrates of the Town, to know if He might be safe there; who replied, that he could not protect him if the King of England sent for him, but that he would not betray him, and if Inquiry was made, would not fail to give Notice of it to Mr. Veen.

This did a little compose his Mind, and he staid with Mr. Veen till September, going abroad only in the Night-time, to prevent any Discovery: But being persuaded to go rather to Cleves, he went thither, but came back the Beginning of November. 'Twas at Mr. Veen's that he compos'd his *Letter of Toleration*, which was Printed at Tergou in 1689, and entituled *Epistola de Tolerantia ad Clarissimum virum, T. A. R. P. T. O. L. A. scripta. a P. A. P. O. I. L. A.* The first Letters signifie, *Theologia apud Remonstrantes Professore, Tyrannydis osorem Limburgium Amstelodamensem*; and the Latter, *Pacis amico, Persequutionis osore, Joanne Lockio Anglo.* This Letter was Translated into *English*, and Printed Twice at London in the Year 1690. About this Time it was also that Mr. Locke read and approved of several Pieces of *Episcopius*; (for till then he knew the Remonstrants only by Hearsay, and a little Conversation he had with them here,) and was surprized to find their Sentiments nearer his own than he imagin'd, and afterwards made great

great Use of the Light which he received from them.

At the End of the Year Mr. Locke went to lodge at Mr. Guenelon's, where he was likewise the Year following.

It being evident to all that he had no Hand in the Duke of Monmouth's Enterprize, he began to appear again in Public in the Year 1686, and then gave me a small Piece, intituled, * *A new Method of making Common-Place Books*, which is inserted in the Second Volume of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*. He made likewise several Extracts of Books, as that of Mr. Boyle concerning *Specifick Medicines*, which is in the same Volume, and some others that are in the following. I sent him some Copies of his *Method to Utrecht*, (whither he went in *Autumn*,) which I had Printed by themselves, and he ordered me to send some to Mr. Toignard, to whom it was Dedicated, tho' his Name was not set before it.

At the End of the Year Mr. Locke returned to *Amsterdam*, and took up his Lodgings at Mr. Guenelon's, his old Quarters.

In 1687 he desir'd that Mr. Limborch, and with some other Friends, would set up Conferences, and that to this End we should meet together once a Week, sometimes at one House, and then at another, by Turns; and

* This Piece is now Printed with considerable Enlargements among his Posthumous Works.

and that there should be some Question propos'd, of which every one should give his Opinion at the next Meeting; and I have still by me the Rules, which he would have had us observe, written in *Latin* with his own Hand. But our Conferences were interrupted by his Absence, because he went to *Rotterdam*, where he lodged with Mr. *Furley*; he returned again to *Amsterdam*, tho' it was but for a little Time.

Towards the latter End of this Year he made an Abridgment of his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding*, which was yet in Manuscript. I Translated it into *French*, and Publish'd it in the 8th Volume of the *Bibliothèque Universelle* in *January*, 1688, and I had some Copies of it Printed singly, to which he prefix'd a short Dedication to the Earl of *Pembroke*. This Abridgment pleas'd a great many Persons, and made them desirous of seeing the Work at Large; but several who had never heard of the Name of Mr. *Locke*, and had only seen the Abridgment, in the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, thought that it was the Project of a Work of mine, which was but yet designed, and that I Father'd it upon an *English* Man, to know what the World thought of it, but they were soon undeceiv'd.

At length the Happy Revolution in *England*, in 1688, by the Courage and good Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*, opened a Way to his Return into his own Country, whither

he went in *February*, 1689, with the same Fleet that conducted over the *Princess of Orange*. When he came to *London* he endeavoured to recover his Fellowship of *Christ-Church College* in *Oxford*; not that he had any Design of Living there, but only that the World might see the Wrong that was done him: This would have been granted him, but since the Members of that Society could not come to a Resolution of turning out the Person who was put in his Place, they would have kept him as a Supernumerary, but he withdrew his Suit.

Mr. *Locke* being very much taken Notice of, and Esteemed by several Noblemen, who were after the Revolution in Favour with the Court, he might very easily have obtained some Considerable Post: But he contented himself with being one of the *Commissioners of Appeals*, which brought him in 200 *l. per Ann.* and this suited him, because it did not require a constant Attendance. This Place is at the Disposal of the Lords of the Treasury; and the Lord *Mordaunt* being one of them, and who was since created Earl of *Monmouth*, and then of *Peterborough*, desiring it for him, the other Lords agreed to it. About the same Time Mr. *Locke* had the Offer of a Public Character, and it was put to his Choice, whether he would go as *Envoy*, either to the *Emperor*, to the *Electors of Brandenburg*, or any other Court, where he thought the Air might best agree with his Constitution, which

was very unsettled; but fearing lest the Service of the King might suffer if the Air of the Place did not agree with him, or that it would endanger his Life unless he made a Speedy Return, he refused an Employ of this Nature.

However, he improved his Time another Way, for a *Divine* Writing against his First Letter concerning Toleration, he answered him in 1690 by a Second Letter. He did not put his Name to it, that he might not be engaged in any Personal Quarrels, which might possibly have turned to his Disadvantage, without serving any Ways to the Advancement of Truth; but the Style of it plainly shew'd the Author. It was in the same Year likewise that the First Edition of his *Essay concerning Humane Understanding* was Printed in *Folio*; in 1700 it was Published in *French* at *Amsterdam* by *H. Schelte*; Mr. *Cofte*, who was then with Mr. *Locke*, translated it under his Inspection with very great Care, Fidelity and Plainness; and this Version is very much esteemed: It hath made known his Opinions to those that are on this Side the Water, and more at large than the Abridgment that was Published in 1688 could do. He also corrected several Places in the Original, that he might make them more plain and easie to translate, and very carefully revis'd the Translation; so that it is not in the least inferiour to the *English*, and often more clear; it was likewise translated into *Latin* by Mr *Burridge*,

ridge, in 1701. There is besides a small Abridgment of it in *English* by Mr. Wynne. The Sixth *English* Edition, in Two Vol. 8vo. is the best, and most enlarged. * Those who have compared it with the former, may have observed in it that Sincerity and Love to Truth which the Author discovers in the Twenty-first Chapter of the Second Book, where he treats concerning *Power*; for he has made several Alterations in the Idea that he had given of the Manner wherein we are determin'd to *Will*. Few Philosophers can persuade themselves to correct their Thoughts; and there is nothing they will not do, rather than confess their Mistakes. But Mr. Locke had too great a Love for Truth to follow their Example; and he himself acknowledges in his Preface, that after a more close Examination of the Matter he saw Reason to alter his Opinion.

He Publish'd likewise the same Year his Two Treatises of *Government*; this Book was afterwards Translated into *French*, and Printed at *Amsterdam*; Mr. Locke did not put his Name to it, because the Principles which he there establishes are contrary to those which were generally taught in *England* before the Revolution, and which tended to establish an Arbitrary Power, which was not restrain'd by any Laws. He entirely

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* In this Edition are inserted, in their proper Places, his Defence of those Passages objected to by Bishop Stillingfleet.

overthrew these *Turkish* Politicks, which some Persons preach'd up as an Article of Religion, to flatter those that aspired to a Power which is above Humane Nature.

Mr. *Locke* lived at *London* about Two Years after the Revolution, esteem'd by all those who knew him; he conversed familiarly with Persons of the highest Rank; but nothing pleased him more than the Weekly Conferences he had with the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was then Lord-Keeper of the Privy-Seal, and who has since been made President of the Privy-Council, which Post he long held with general Approbation under Her present Majesty. When the Air of *London* began to affect his Lungs, he went for some Days to the Earl of *Peterborough's* Seat, near *Fulham*, where he always met with a hearty Welcome; but he was oblig'd afterwards to think of quite leaving *London*, at least all the Winter Season, and to go to some Place at a greater Distance.

He had made some Visits at different Times to Sir *Francis Masham*, who liv'd at *Oates* in *Essex*, about Twenty Miles from *London*, where he found the Air so good, that he thought there was none could suit better with his Constitution; besides the agreeable Company he found at Sir *Francis Masham's* would make the most Melancholy Place agreeable, was one great Motive, no doubt, which inclin'd him to desire that Gentleman to receive him into his Family, that

he might settle there during his Life, and apply himself to his Studies as much as his weak Health would allow. He was receiv'd on his own Terms, that he might have his entire Liberty there, and look upon himself as at his own House; and it was in this pleasant Society that he pass'd the rest of his Life, and from which he was absent as little as possible, because the Air of *London* grew more and more troublesome to him; he came thither only in the Summer for Three or Four Months, and if he return'd to *Oates* any Thing indispos'd, the Air of the Country soon recover'd him.

In 1692 he printed his Third Letter of *Toleration*, in which he answer'd some new Objections that had been made against his Opinions with so great Strength and Accuracy, as made it needless for him to write any Thing farther on that Subject: And here I can't but take Notice of the strange and unaccountable Temper of some Men, who tho' they are fully convinced that their clear and distinct Knowledge is of a very small Extent, and that they are very easily mistaken in the Judgments they pass of Things, will yet, when it is in their Power, persecute others because they differ from them in their Notions; and this at the same Time that they would think it very hard, if they were on the weaker Side, to be persecuted on this Account themselves; but it is yet more strange that they should Interest Religion in
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the Case, and employ its Authority to defend those Practices which it expressly forbids. This can only proceed from a Proud and Tyrannical Spirit, which passes upon the World under the Disguise of Piety, almost after the same Manner as the Itch after Arbitrary Power conceals itself under the specious Pretext of the Public Good, how contrary soever it may be to it.

But this is no proper Place to bewail these Irregularities of the Mind of Man; the *English* Nation however is highly oblig'd to Mr. *Locke* for having undeceiv'd a great many Persons, and made them detest those prosecuting Maxims, which, for want of due Consideration they had embrac'd. 'Tis well known that about this Time the Coin of *England* was very bad, having been so much clipped through the Negligence of the preceeding Reigns, who had not taken Care to remedy it, that it wanted above a Third of its due Weight: The Effect of this was, that the People thought themselves a great deal Richer than indeed they were: For although the Coin was not rais'd in its Value by any Public Authority, it was put off in Trade for above a Third Part more than it weigh'd: This was very prejudicial to Trade on several Accounts, of which I shall not here take any Notice.

Mr. *Locke* had observed this Disorder ever since his Return to *England*, and he frequently spoke of it, that he might put the Nation upon taking some Measures to prevent it. He

said

said then, *That the Nation was in greater Danger from a secret unobserved Abuse, than from all those other Evils, of which Persons were generally so apprehensive; and that if Care were not taken to rectifie the Coin, that Irregularity alone would prove fatal to us, though we should succeed in every Thing else.* One Day, when he seemed very much disturbed about this Matter, some Persons rallied him, as if he tormented himself with a groundless Fear; he answered, *That Persons might laugh if they pleased, but they would find in a very short Time, that if Care was not taken we should want Money in England to buy Bread;* and it happened accordingly in 1695, so that the Parliament was forced to rectifie that Abuse the beginning of the Year following; in order to stir up the *English Nation* to take this Matter into Consideration, Mr. Locke published in 1692 a little Treatise, Intituled, *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of the Interest, and Raising the Value, of Money,* which was sent to a Member of Parliament, 1691, in which we may find several Nice and Curious Observations on both those Subjects, as well as the Trade of *England* in general; afterwards in 1695, resum'd this Subject again, when, according to his Prediction, the Nation's Danger obliged the Parliament to think seriously of this Matter: By this it appears that he was able to reason on the common Affairs of Life, as well as on the most abstract-

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ed Subjects; and that he was none of those Philosophers who spent their whole Lives in the Search after Truths purely Speculative, but by their Ignorance of those Things which concern the Public Good, are rendred incapable of serving their Country.

In 1693 he published his *Thoughts concerning the Education of Children*, (which he considerably improved in some later Editions, the last is the 7th, printed in Twelves, 1712.) This Book was also translated into *French* and *Dutch* in *Holland*; and although there are many Things in it that respect the Faults peculiar to the *English* Way of Educating Children, yet it contains several Remarks that may be useful to other Nations.

In 1695 Mr. *Locke* was made a *Commissioner of the Trade and Plantations*; these Commissioners compose a Council, who take Care of every Thing relating to the *English* Trade and Plantations, and have every one a Salary of a Thousand Pounds a Year. He discharged the Duties of this Place with a great deal of Care, and Universal Approbation, till the Year 1700, when he quitted it, being no longer able to live in *London*, as he did before. He acquainted no Person with his Design of leaving that Place till he had given up his Commission into the King's Hands: His Majesty was very unwilling to receive it, and told Mr. *Locke* he should be very glad if he would continue in his Service, though he gave never so little Attendance; and that he did

not desire him to stay in Town one Day to the Prejudice of his Health: But he told his Majesty that he could not in Conscience hold a Place to which a considerable Salary was annexed, without performing the Duties of it, and that he therefore humbly desired a Discharge. A great many Persons would not have been so scrupulous in this Matter as he was, but would have accepted the King's Grant, or at least would have endeavoured to resign such a Place as this to their Advantage.

And indeed he deserved to enjoy the Salary belonging to that Place, even though he should have performed none of its Duties, if it were only on the Account of being one of those who took the greatest Pains to convince the Parliament, that the only Way to preserve the Trade of *England*, was to Re-coin the Money without raising its Value to the Public Loss; for this End he wrote a Little Treatise, Intituled, *New Considerations on the raising the Value of Money*, which he Published in 1695. This Treatise, together with several others, were Reprinted the Year after, with the Title of *Papers concerning Money, Interest, and Trade*. The Parliament following his Opinion in this Matter, in the midst of a Dangerous War, made such a Reformation in the Coin, as many Nations would have hardly undertaken in a Time of Peace: 'Tis well known that there are some Kingdoms, wherein to fill the Princes Treasury out of the Pockets of Private Persons,

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the Money is made to rise or fall without any
 Regard to the Loss the Public sustains there-
 by ; but such Maxims are not approved of in
 England.

The Ingenious Mr. J. WATTS Com-
 pos'd the following Lines upon this
 Occasion.

TO JOHN LOCKE, Esq; Retir'd from
 Business.

I.

ANGELS are made of Heavenly Things,
 And Light and Love our Souls compose,
 Their Bliss within their Bosom springs,
 Within their Bosom flows.

But narrow Minds still make Pretence
 To search the Coasts of Flesh and Sense,
 And fetch Diviner Pleasures thence.

MEN are akin to Etherial Forms,
 But they belye their Nobler Birth,
 Debase their Honour down to Earth,

And claim a Share with Worms.

II.

He that has Treasures of his own
 May leave the Cottage or the Throne,
 May quit the Globe, and dwell alone

Within his Spacious Mind.

LOCKE

LOCKE *hath a Soul wide as the Sea,
Calm as the Night, Bright as the Day,
There may his vast Ideas play,
Nor feel a Thought confin'd.*

In the same Year, 1695, Mr. Locke published his Treatise of *The Reasonableness of Christianity*; wherein he has proved, that the Christian Religion, as delivered in the Scriptures, is the most reasonable Institution in the World: It was quickly after Translated into *French* and *Dutch*, and attacked in *England* by a passionate Divine. * In 1696 Mr. Locke answered that Book, and after defended his Answer with such Strength of Reason, and yet with so great Moderation, that he might justly have expected of his Adversary a public Acknowledgment of his Error, had he not been one of those Sort of Men who are equally Strangers to Shame and Justice. Mr. Locke was also obliged to Mr. Bold, Minister of *Steeple* in *Dorsetshire*, who defended his Book without knowing the Author, in Two short Discourses which came out in 1697, as also in a Second Answer.

Some Time before this there came out a Book at *London*, written by Mr. Toland, Intituled, *Christianity not Mysteries*; in which the Author pretended to prove, *That there is*
F 2 *nothing*

nothing in the Christian Religion, not only which is contrary to Reason, but even which is above it. Mr. Toland, in explaining the Nature of Reason, had made use of several Arguments that were very like some of Mr. Locke's in his Treatise of *Humane Understanding*.

It happened also, that some *English Unitarians* had about that Time publish'd several Pamphlets, in which they talked very much about Reason, and laid down their Notions of what was contrary to it, and affirm'd there was no such Doctrine in the Christian Religion. Mr. Locke had also with a great deal of Truth asserted, that Revelation delivers nothing contrary to any plain Consequences of Reason: All these Things put together engaged Dr. *Stillingsfleet*, late Bishop of *Worcester*, to join Mr. Locke in Company with those Persons in a Treatise he publish'd in 1697, wherein he defended the Doctrine of the Trinity against them. In this Book, Chap. 10. he opposed some Notions of Mr. Locke concerning the Knowledge we have of Substances, and some other Things, fearing, without Reason, that those Notions might be brought in Favour of some Heretical Opinions; Mr. Locke answer'd him, and the Bishop reply'd the same Year: This Reply was confuted by a Second Letter of Mr. Locke, which drew a Second Answer from that Learned Bishop in 1698; and Mr. Locke again reply'd, in a Third Letter in 1699, wherein

wherein he discoursed more at large of the *Certainty by Reason*, or by *Ideas*, of the *Certainty of Faith*, of the *Resurrection of the same Body*, and the *Immateriality of the Soul*, and shew'd the perfect Agreement of his Principles with Faith, that they had not the least Tendency to Scepticism, as Bishop *Stillingfleet* had affirm'd: But the Bishop died sometime after this, and so the Dispute ended.

We may observe Two Things more especially in this Controversie, the one relating to the Subject of it, the other to the Manner wherein it was handled. Every Body admired the Strength of Mr. *Locke's* Reasonings, and his great Clearness and Exactness, not only in explaining his own Notions, but in laying open those of his Adversary: Nor were they less surprized, that a Man of the Bishop's Learning should engage in a Controversie wherein he had all the Disadvantages possible; for he was by no Means able to maintain his Opinions against Mr. *Locke*, whose Notions he neither understood, nor the Thing itself about which he Disputed. This Eminent Prelate had spent the greatest Part of his Time in the Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquities, and reading an infinite Number of Books, but was no great Philosopher, nor had ever used himself to that close Correct Way of Thinking and Writing, in which Mr. *Locke* did particularly excel. However, this Excellent Philosopher, tho' he had much the better in the Controversie, and had Reason

son enough to complain of the Bishop for having charged him unjustly, and without a sufficient Knowledge of the Subject he handled, was yet very far from abusing the Advantages he had, but always detected and refuted his Errors with Civility and Respect. He shews, 'tis true, that the Bishop did not understand the Things he talk'd about, and was very uncorrect in his Expressions, but rather seems to insinuate it, by producing his own Words, and leaving the World to judge, than reflect on him for it. For my Part I confess I never read a Dispute managed in so cool Blood, or with so much Art and Exactness on the one Side, nor on the other, so unjustly, confusedly, or so little to the Credit of the Author.

I was also surprized at the Bishop's Censure of *Curcellæus*, in the 6th Chapter of his *Defence of the Trinity*, and wonder'd how he could think so easily to Answer him. I must confess indeed, that the Bishop has Reason in asserting, that St. *Hilary*, in the † Passage *Curcellæus* cites out of his Book, *de Synodis*, does speak to the *Eastern* Bishops, and not to those of *Gaul* and *Germany*, as he thought. But then it must also be granted, that in the main *Curcellæus* has, in his Dissertation concerning the Words *Trinity*, &c. very faithfully represented the Opinion of St. *Hilary*. Bp. *Stillingfleet* had either read this Book without

without due Attention, or forgot its Contents; for of all other Books this most clearly proves, that the Orthodox of that Time believ'd, that the Divine Nature as a Species did contain under it Three Persons numerically distinguish'd.

St. Hilary, a little before the * Passage that gave Bp Stillingfleet Occasion to charge Curcelleus with a gross Mistake, explains how according to the Semi-Arians it might be said, That the Father and Son have a like Essence: And then delivers his own Opinion in the following Words. "*Caret igitur, Fratres, similitudo Naturæ contumeliæ suspicionem; nec potest videri Filius idcirco in proprietate Paternæ Naturæ non esse quia similis est, cum similitudo nulla sit nisi ex æqualitate Naturæ; æqualitas autem Naturæ non potest esse, nisi una sit; una verò non † Personæ Unitate, sed GENERIS.*" That is, Therefore, Brethren, the Son may, without Danger of Blasphemy, be said to be of a like Nature with the Father; and tho' he be said to be like him, it does not follow that therefore he is not of the same Nature, for Similitude flows from Equality of Nature; now there can be no Equality of Nature, but where the Nature is one, and that not with a Personal, but Generical Unity. Now a Person who reads this with any

* Num. 76. Ejusd. Edit.

† By Personæ we must understand a Substance, and not a Mode, which is called Personality.

any tolerable Degree of Attention, will easily see, that supposing the Unity of the Divine Nature to be Numerical, 'tis Nonsense to say the Nature of the Son is *equal* or *like* to that of the Father; but that this Way of Expression is proper enough in the Mouth of those Persons who believe the Father and the Son are one in *Specie*, or *Generically*, as St. Hilary speaks. See also the 15th Article in the *Benedictine* Edition. The same Thing might be plainly proved out of his Books of the *Trinity*: If Bp *Stillingfleet* had examin'd St. Hilary only Carefully, and without Prejudice, he would have been of the same Mind with *Curcellens*, and would never have differ'd with him about a trifling Incident, while, in the Main of the Controversie, he gives a very true Account of the Doctrine of the Fathers in this Point. I shall say no more on this Head; and I hope no Person will be offended at this little Digression I have made, to defend at once the Truth and Honour of *Curcellens*, against the Learned Bp *Stillingfleet*, for whose Excellent Writings I have nevertheless a very high Esteem.

But to return to Mr. *Locke*; 'tis very strange he should be able to write so much at so great an Age, and when his Health was so infirm, by Reason of the Indisposition of his Lungs. In 1697 he was obliged to go to *London* in very cold Weather, because the King desired to see him; and that Journey made his Lungs much worse than

than ever they had been before: He was so bad, that for Three or Four Days, while he was in *London*, he could not lye down; and I remember, that in a Letter I receiv'd from him he told me he was reduced to a perfect *Orthopnæa*. *

He returned to *Oates* in so weak a Condition that he never recover'd his former Health. He said, that his Majesty (who was also Asthmatick) having heard of his Skill in Physic, desired to discourse with him about his own Disposition. And I remember I heard, a little while after, that Mr. *Locke* had advised the King to abstain from Wine, and all Foods that were heavy and clogging. But however, the King kept to his usual Manner of Living, tho' he signify'd to some of those who were near his Person that he had a high Esteem for Mr. *Locke*.

Some Years before his Death he apply'd himself entirely to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, and found so much Pleasure therein, that he was very much troubled he had not sooner apply'd his Mind to that Study: The World has seen the Fruits of these Labours in his *Reasonableness of Christianity*, of which we have already spoken, and which is one of the best Pieces that has been Publish'd this many Years on that Subject, and with that Design.

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Above

* A Difficulty of Breathing, when a Man can't fetch his Breath, but by holding his Neck upright.

Above a Year before his Death he grew so very Weak that he could not apply himself closely to any Thing, nor so much as write a Letter to a Friend without great Difficulty. Before he had always made use of his own Hand for whatever he had to write; and so having not used to Dictate, he could not employ an *Amanuensis* to ease himself: But tho' his Body grew weaker, he still kept his Good Humour; and if his Lungs would have permitted him to speak, his Conversation would have been as pleasant and entertaining as ever. A few Weeks before his Death he perceiv'd he should not live long, but yet he continued as Chearful and Pleasant as before; and when some Persons seem'd to wonder at it, he would say, *While we are alive let us live.*

The Study of the Holy Scriptures wrought in him a lively and sincere, tho' unaffected, Piety: Having not been able to go to Church for a considerable Time, he thought convenient some Months before he died to receive the Blessed Sacrament at Home according to a usual Practice of the Church of *England*; and Two of his Friends communicated with him. When the Minister had performed his Office, Mr. *Locke* told him, *That he was in perfect Charity with all Men, and in a sincere Communion with the Church of Christ, by what Name soever it might be distinguished.* He was a Man of too great Understanding to take the Sacrament as a Test of Schism or Party, which

which a great many ignorant Persons do, who, by Communicating with their own Church, condemn all other Christian Societies. He had a deep Sense of the Divine Wisdom, that discovers itself in those Methods God has taken in saving Men; and when he discoursed about it he could not forbear joining with the Apostle in the Exclamation, *Oh the Depths of the Riches and Wisdom of God.* And he was perswaded that all Persons would be of the same Mind who should read the Scriptures without Prejudice; and this Study he very frequently commended to those with whom he conversed towards the latter End of his Life. This Application to these Holy Writings had given him a more Noble and Compleat Idea of the Christian Religion than he had before; and if he had enjoy'd Strength enough to have begun any new Works, 'tis very likely he would have composed some on Purpose, to have imprest this Great and Sublime Idea on the Minds of others in its full Extent.

Upon this Occasion Mr. *Watts* wrote as follows to *John Shute*, Esq; a Young Gentleman for whom Mr. *Locke* entertain'd a particular Esteem.

To JOHN SHUTE, Esq;

On Mr. LOCKE's Dangerous Sick-
ness some Time after he had re-
tir'd to Study the Scriptures.

I.

AND must the Man of wond'rous Mind,
(Now his Rich Thoughts are just refin'd)
For sake our longing Eyes?

Reason at length submits to wear
The Wings of Faith, and lo they rear
Her Chariot high, and nobly bear
Her Prophet to the Skies.

II.

Go, Friend, and wait the Prophet's Flight,
Watch if his Mantle chance to light,
And seize it for thy own.

SHUTE is the Darling of his Tears,
Young SHUTE his better Likeness bears;
All but his Wrinkles and his Hairs
Are copy'd in his Son.

III. Thus

III.

*Thus when our Follies or our Faults
Call for the Pity of thy Thoughts,
Thy Pen shall make us Wise.*

*The Sallies of whose Youthful Wit
Could pierce the British Fogs with Light,
Place our true Interest in our Sight,
And open half our Eyes.*

For some Weeks before his Death he could not walk, but was carried about the House in an armed Chair; my Lady Masham going to see him on the 27th of October, 1704, and not finding him in his Study where he us'd to be, but in Bed, seemed to wonder at that Alteration; he told her he could not bear the Fatigue of rising, having weary'd himself too much with it the Day before, and that he did not know whether he should ever rise again: He could not Eat that Day; and after Dinner some Persons who kept him Company went into his Chamber, and asked him if they should read something to divert him, but he refused it. However, some Papers being brought into his Chamber, he enquired what they were; after they were read he said, *That his Work here was almost at an end, and he thanked God for it.* Thereupon
Some-

Somebody coming near his Bed, he desired *They would remember him in the Evening Prayers.* They told him, that if he pleased the Family would come to Prayers into his Chamber, to which he agreed. They asked him if he thought he was near Death, he answer'd, *That he might perhaps die that Night, but that he could not live above Three or Four Days.* He was then in a cold Sweat, but that left him in a little Time. He was asked to drink some Mum, a Liquor which he had drank with Pleasure the Week before, and which, as I have heard him say, he look'd upon to be the most wholesome of all Strong Drinks; he took some Spoonfuls then, and drank to the Health of the Company, *Wishing all of them Happiness when he should be gone;* afterwards there being nobody else in the Chamber but my Lady Masbam, who sat by the Bed-side, he exhorted her *To look on this World only as a State of Preparation for a better;* he added, *That he had lived long enough, and that he thanked God he had enjoy'd an Happy Life;* but that after all he look'd upon this Life to be nothing but Vanity. After Supper the Family came up into his Chamber to Prayers, and between Eleven and Twelve a Clock he seem'd to be a little better. My Lady Masbam would have watch'd with him, but he would not permit her, saying, *That perhaps he might sleep,* and that if he should find any Alteration he would send for her; he did not rest that Night, but resolved to try
to

to rise the next Day, which he did. He was carried into his Study, and was set in an Easie Chair, where he slept, by Fits, some considerable Time : Then thinking himself somewhat better, he had a mind to be Drest as usual, and asked for some Small-beer, which he used very seldom to taste ; after that he desired my Lady *Masbam*, who was reading to herself in the *Psalms* while they Drest him, to read aloud, which accordingly she did, and he seemed very attentive, till he was hinder'd by the nearer Approaches of Death, upon which he desired her to read no more, and expir'd a few Minutes after, on the 28th of *October*, 1704, about Three in the Afternoon, in the 73d Year of his Age.

Thus died one of the greatest Philosophers of our Age, who, after he had made himself a perfect Master of almost all the Parts of Philosophy, and discover'd its greatest Secrets with uncommon Strength of Reason, and Correctness of Thought, happily turned his Studies to the Christian Religion, which he examin'd in its Original with the same Liberty he had used in his Study of other Sciences, and which he judged so reasonable and excellent an Institution, that he Dedicated the remainder of his Life to the Contemplation of it, and endeavour'd to raise in the Minds of others the same high Veneration he had for it himself ; and as he did not chuse a Religious Course of Life in a Fit of Discontent or ill Humour, so his Piety was neither tainted with

with Melancholy nor Superstition. The same Light that guided him in his Philosophical Studies, directed him in explaining the *New-Testament*, and kindled in his Soul a Rational Piety, such as was worthy of him, who gave us our Reason for no other End, but that by which we might be assisted to make a good Use of Revelation, and who by revealing his Will, supposes we will imploy the Judgment and Understanding he has given us, in acknowledging, admiring, and following it.

'Tis needless for me here to attempt a Panegyrick on Mr. *Locke*, his Works, which are read in several Languages are a sufficient, and will be an eternal Monument of his vast Genius, penetrating Wit, and exact Judgment. I shall only insert a Character of him, which I receiv'd from a Considerable Person, to whom he was perfectly well known.

“ Mr. *Locke*, said she, (and I can bear
 “ Witness to her Evidence in a great
 “ Measure by what I have seen myself in
 “ *Holland*,) was a great Philosopher, and a
 “ fit Person to be employ'd in Affairs of the
 “ highest Importance. He understood the
 “ Politer Parts of Learning perfectly well,
 “ and was very Genteel and Engaging in his
 “ Conversation. He knew somewhat of all
 “ those Things that are of real Use to Man-
 “ kind, and was a perfect Master of what
 “ he had particularly studied. But yet he

“ was

“ was not puff’d up by all this, nor ever
“ seem’d to have a better Opinion of himself
“ because of his Knowledge. No one was
“ farther from assuming a Magisterial Air,
“ or less positive in his Assertions; and
“ he was not in the least offended with
“ those that did not assent to his Opinions.
“ But he cou’d not bear with a sort
“ of Cavillers, who will not drop the Dispute
“ tho’ they have been often refuted,
“ and can only repeat the same Things. He
“ spake to such Persons sometimes with a
“ little Heat, but he himself wou’d first take
“ Notice of his being any ways moved.

“ In the most Considerable Affairs of Life,
“ as well in Matters of Speculation, he
“ was always ready to hear Reason from
“ whomsoever it came. He was indeed the
“ faithful Servant, nay, I may say, the devoted
“ Slave, of Truth, which he loved for
“ itself, and which no Consideration was ever
“ able to make him Desert.

“ He suited his Discourse to the meanest
“ Capacities; and in disputing with such
“ Persons he gave their Objections against
“ him the utmost Weight, not taking Advantage
“ of his Adversaries if they had not expressed
“ themselves so correctly as they ought. He
“ conversed very freely and willingly with all
“ Sorts of Persons, endeavouring to learn something
“ from them: And this proceeded not only from
“ his genteel Education, but from his pro-
“ fessed

" fessed Opinion, that some good Thing or
 " other might be learned from any Person
 " whatsoever. And by this Means he had
 " attain'd to such a considerable Knowledge
 " of several particular Arts and Sciences,
 " that one would have thought he had made
 " the Study of those Things a great Part of
 " his Business. For even Tradesmen would
 " ask his Advice, and were frequently in-
 " structed by him in Things relating to their
 " several Employments.

" If there was any Thing that he could
 " not bear, 'twas ill Manners, which was in-
 " deed very ungrateful to him, when he
 " perceived it did not arise from want of
 " Conversation, and Knowledge of the
 " World, but from Pride, Ill-nature, Bru-
 " tality, and other Vices of that Nature.
 " Otherwise he was very far from despising
 " any one though their Persons were
 " never so mean. He look'd on Civi-
 " lity to be not only something very agree-
 " able and proper to win upon Men, but
 " also a Duty of Christianity, and which
 " ought to be more pressed, *and urged upon*
 " *Men*, than it commonly is. He recom-
 " mended on this Occasion a * Treatise writ-
 " ten by the Gentlemen of the Port-Royal,
 " *Concerning the Means to preserve Peace*
 " *among Men*; and he very much admired
 " some

* 'Tis Printed among the *Essays de Morale. de Port-Royal.*

“ some Sermons he heard from Dr. *Whitchcot*
 “ on this Subject, and which are now
 “ Printed.

“ His Conversation was very agreeable to
 “ all Sorts of People, even to the Ladies
 “ themselves; and no Person was more ci-
 “ villy entertain'd than he by Persons of
 “ the highest Quality. For if he had not
 “ naturally those Qualifications that render
 “ the Conversation of genteel and accom-
 “ plish'd Persons more easie, free, and less
 “ formal, than that of other Persons, yet he
 “ had acquired them by his Acquaintance
 “ with the World. And this recommend-
 “ ed him so much the more, because Per-
 “ sons who knew him not, did not expect
 “ that Politeness in a Man so much given to
 “ Study as he was. Those who were desi-
 “ rous of his Conversation, to gain those
 “ Things that might be expected in a Man of
 “ his Learning, and accordingly address'd
 “ him with great Respect, were surprized to
 “ find in him not only the Civility of a
 “ well educated Person, but even all the Po-
 “ liteness that could be desired.

“ He spake very often against Raillery,
 “ which indeed is the Nicest Point in Con-
 “ versation, and of dangerous Consequence,
 “ if not prudently managed. And yet no
 “ Person rallied with a better Grace than
 “ he; but he always took Care to say no-
 “ thing offensive or prejudicial to any Man.
 “ He knew how to give a pleasant and
 “ agree-

“ agreeable Turn to every Thing he said.
“ If he rallied his Friends, it was either for
“ some inconsiderable Faults, or something
“ which ’twas for their Benefit to make
“ known. He was so extraordinary Civil,
“ that when he seem’d disposed to be Merry,
“ the Company was sure he was about to say
“ something to their *Advantage*. He never
“ ridicul’d the Natural Infirmities or Mis-
“ fortunes of any Person.

“ He was very Charitable to the Poor, ex-
“ cept such as were Idle or Prophane,
“ and spent the *Sunday* in the *Ale-houses*,
“ and went not to Church. But above
“ all, he did compassionate those, who
“ after they had labour’d as long as their
“ Strength wou’d hold were reduced to
“ Poverty. He said it was not enough to
“ keep them from starving, but that such a
“ Provision ought to be made for them that
“ they might live comfortably. Accordingly
“ he sought Occasions of doing Good to those
“ who deserved it; and often when he walk-
“ ed out he wou’d visit the Poor of the
“ Neighbourhood, and give them somewhat
“ to supply their Necessities, or buy the
“ Remedies which he prescribed them, if
“ they were Sick, and had no other Phyfi-
“ cian. He wou’d not let any useful Thing
“ be lost or wasted: He thought that was
“ to destroy those Good Things, of which
“ God has made us only Stewards: Accord-
“ ingly he kept good Orders, and took an
“ Account of every Thing. “ If

“ If he was subject to any Passion it was
“ Anger ; but he had made himself so much
“ Master of it by Reason, that it was very
“ rarely troublesome to himself or others.
“ No One could better expose that Pas-
“ sion, or make it appear more ridiculous,
“ than he. He would say it was of no Use,
“ either in the educating Children, or keeping
“ Servants in Order, but that it did indeed
“ make a Man lose his Authority. He was
“ very kind to his Servants, and would
“ take the Trouble to instruct them with a
“ great deal of Mildness in what Man-
“ ner he expected to be served by them.

“ He not only faithfully kept a Secret that
“ had been trusted with him, but would
“ never report any Thing that might preju-
“ dice the Person from whom he heard it,
“ tho’ his Silence had not been desired : Nor
“ did he ever bring his Friends into any In-
“ convenience thro’ his Inadvertency, or want
“ of Discretion.

“ He was very exact to his Word, and
“ religiously performed whatever he promis’d.
“ He was very scrupulous of giving Recom-
“ mendations of Persons whom he did not
“ well know ; and would by no means com-
“ mend those whom he thought did not
“ deserve it : If he was told that his Re-
“ commendations had not produc’d the Effect
“ expected, he would say, *The Reason of that*
“ *was, because he had never deceived any Person,*
“ *by saying more than he knew ; that he never*
“ *pass’d*

“ pass’d his Word for any, but such as he
 “ believ’d would answer the Character he gave
 “ of them; and that if he should do otherwise
 “ his Recommendations would be worth nothing.

“ His greatest Diversion was to discourse
 “ with Sensible Persons, of whose Conver-
 “ sation he was very desirous. He had all
 “ the good Qualities that could render his
 “ Friendship pleasant and agreeable. He
 “ would never Game, but out of Complai-
 “ sance; altho’ being often in Company
 “ with those who used it, he could Play
 “ very well if he set about it; but he wou’d
 “ never propose it, for he said it was but an
 “ Amusement for those who wanted Conver-
 “ sation.

“ His Dress was Neat, without either Af-
 “ fection or Singularity.

“ He was naturally very Active, and em-
 “ ploy’d himself as much as his Health would
 “ permit. Sometimes he diverted himself
 “ with working in the Garden, which he
 “ very well understood. He loved walk-
 “ ing, but not being able to walk much thro’
 “ the Disorder of his Lungs, he used to
 “ Ride out after Dinner; and when he could
 “ not bear an Horse, in a Calash. He al-
 “ ways chose to have Company with him,
 “ tho’ it were but a Child, for he took Plea-
 “ sure in talking with Children of a good
 “ Education.

“ The Weakness of his Health was a Di-
 “ sturbance to none but himself; and one
 “ might

“ might look on him without any other Con-
“ cern than that of seeing him suffer. He did
“ not differ from others in his Diet, but
“ only in that his ordinary Drink was no-
“ thing but Water, and he thought that was
“ the Means of Lengthening out his Life to
“ such an Age. Tho’ he was of so weak a
“ Constitution, and that it was to this
“ he owed the Preservation of his Eye-sight,
“ which was but little impaired when he
“ Died; for he could read by Candle-light
“ all Sorts of Books, if they were not of a
“ very small Print, and he never used Spe-
“ ctacles. He had no other Distemper but
“ his *Asthma*, excepting that Four Years be-
“ fore his Death he was very Deaf; but it
“ did not last above Six Months: His Deaf-
“ ness depriving him of the Pleasure of Con-
“ versation, in a Letter which he then wrote
“ to one of his Friends, he said, *he did not*
“ *know but it was better to be Blind than*
“ *Deaf*. Otherwise he bore up under his
“ Afflictions very Patiently.

This is a Picture of that Great Man,
drawn after the Life, and wherein he is not
at all flattered: I wish it were in my Power,
not only to make his Memory, but his Genius,
Immortal, by persuading all Students to
search after Truth, and to love and defend it,
as he has done: But the Reading of his Works
will effect that better than all the Praises I
can give him, or all the Arguments I can lay
before them. I

I shall only add, that several Books have been attributed to him, of which he was not the Author, particularly a small Treatise of *the Love of God*; this his Bookseller informed me was not his, but is generally believed to be wrote by the Lady *Masham*.

He left several Manuscripts behind him, which were soon Published after his Death by Sir *Peter King*, and *Anthony Collins*, Esq; whom he appointed his Executors, and to whom he gave his Library to be equally divided between them.

In 1705 came out in *Quarto* his Paraphrase and Notes upon *St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, which was soon followed by those upon the *Corinthians*, *Romans*, and *Ephesians*; upon the Publication of which Mr *Watts* likewise wrote these Lines.

On Mr. LOCKE's Annotations upon several Parts of the New-Testament.

I.

THUS Reason learns by slow Degrees
What Faith reveals, but still complains
Of Intellectual Pains,
And Darkness from the too Exuberant Light.
The Blaze of those Bright Mysteries
Pour'd all at once on Nature's Eyes,
Offend and Cloud her feeble Sight.

II.

Reason could scarce sustain to see
 Th' Almighty One, th' Eternal Three,
 Or bear the Infant Deity;
 Scarce could her Pride descend to own
 Her Maker stooping from his Throne,
 And drest in Glories so unknown.
 A Ransom'd World, a Bleeding God,
 And Heaven appeas'd with flowing Blood,
 Were Themes too painful to be understood.

III.

Faith, thou Bright Cherub, speak and say,
 Did ever Mind of Mortal Race
 Cost thee more Toil or larger Grace
 To melt and bend it to obey?
 'Twas hard to make so Rich a Soul submit,
 And lay her Shining Honours at thy Sovereign
 [Feet.

IV.

Sister of Faith, Fair Charity,
 Shew me the wondrous MAN on High;
 Tell how HE sees the Godhead Three in
 The Bright Conviction fills his Eye, [One;
 His Noblest Pow'rs in deep Prostration lye
 At the Mysterious Throne.
 I " Forgive

" Forgive, he cries, * ye Saints below,
 " The wav'ring and the cold Assent
 " I gave to Themes Divinely True;
 " Can you admit the Blessed to repent?
 " Eternal Darkness veil the Lines
 " Of that unhappy Book,
 " Where feeble Reason with false Lustre shines,
 " Where the meer Mortal Pen mistook
 " What the Celestial meant!

In 1706 were Published in an Octavo Volume some Small Pieces, which the Editor informs us, " Are True and Genuine Remains
 " of the Deceased Author; but for the greatest Part received not his last Hand, being in
 " a great Measure little more than sudden
 " Views, intended to be afterwards revis'd, and
 " farther looked into, but by Sickness, Intervention of Business, or Preferable Enquiries,
 " happen'd to be thrust aside, and so lay neglected. The Title of them runs thus,
 Posthumous Works of Mr. John Locke, viz.
 I. Of the Conduct of the Understanding.
 II. An Examination of P. Malebranche's Opinion of seeing all Things in GOD. III. A Discourse

* See Mr. Locke's Annotations on Rom. 3. 25. and Paraphrase on Rom. 9. 5. which has inclin'd some Readers to doubt whether he was fully persuaded of the Deity and Satisfaction of Christ.

course of Miracles. IV. Part of a Fourth Letter for *Toleration*. V. Memoirs relating to the Life of *Anthony*, First Earl of *Shaftsbury*; to which is added his New Method of a Common-Place-Book, written Originally in *French*, as has been already related.

At the End of the Discourse of Miracles Mr. *Locke* added a Remarkable Note, which is as follows, (*These Thoughts concerning Miracles* (says he) were occasioned by reading Mr. *Fleetwood's* * *Essay on Miracles*, and the Letter || writ to him on that Subject: The one of them defining a Miracle to be an Extraordinary Operation performable by God alone, and the other writing of Miracles without any Definition of a Miracle at all.

In 1708 was Printed a Volume of Letters, 8vo, under the following Title, *Some Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke and several of his Friends*; in the Preface to which the Editor seems to promise a Second Volume, but as yet nothing more of this Kind has appeared.

In 1709 his Paraphrase and Notes upon St. Paul's Epistles were Collected into One Volume, To which was prefixed, *An Essay for the understanding of St. Paul's Epistles, by consulting St. Paul himself*.

1720

* Now Lord Bishop of St. Asaph,
 † That Letter is said to be written by Mr. Hoadly.

I shall close all with giving an exact Catalogue of his Works.

BOOKS written by Mr. JOHN LOCKE,

- I. An Essay concerning *Humane Understanding*. 2 Vol. 8vo.
- II. Two Treatises of *Government*; in the former the false Principles and Foundation of Sir Robert Filmer and his Followers are detected and overthrown. The latter an Essay concerning the true Original, Extent, and End, of Civil Government. 8vo.
- III. Three Letters concerning *Toleration*. 4to.
- IV. The *Reasonableness of Christianity*, as delivered in the Scriptures. 8vo. Also Two Vindications of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, from the Exceptions of Dr. Edwards, and others. 8vo.
- V. Some Thoughts concerning *Education*. 8vo, and 120.
- VI. Several Papers relating to *Money, Interest and Trade*. 8vo.
- VII. Letter to *Edward*, Lord Bishop of *Worcester*. 8vo.
- VIII. Reply to the Bishop of *Worcester's* Answer. 8vo.
- IX. Reply to the Bishop of *Worcester's* Answer to his Second Letter, where, besides other incident Matters, what his Lordship has said concerning Certainty of Reason, Certainty by Idea's, and Certainty of Faith,

Faith, the Resurrection of the same Body, the Immateriality of the Soul, the Inconsistency of Mr. *Locke's* Notions of the Articles of the Christian Faith, and their Tendency to Scepticism, is examined. 8vo.

X. A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. *Paul* to the *Galatians*, I and II *Corinthians*, *Romans*, *Ephesians*. To which is prefixed an Essay for the understanding of St. *Paul's* Epistles, by consulting St. *Paul* himself. 4to.

XI. Some Familiar Letters between Mr. *Locke* and several of his Friends. 8vo.

XII. Posthumous Works of Mr. *John Locke*. 8vo.

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